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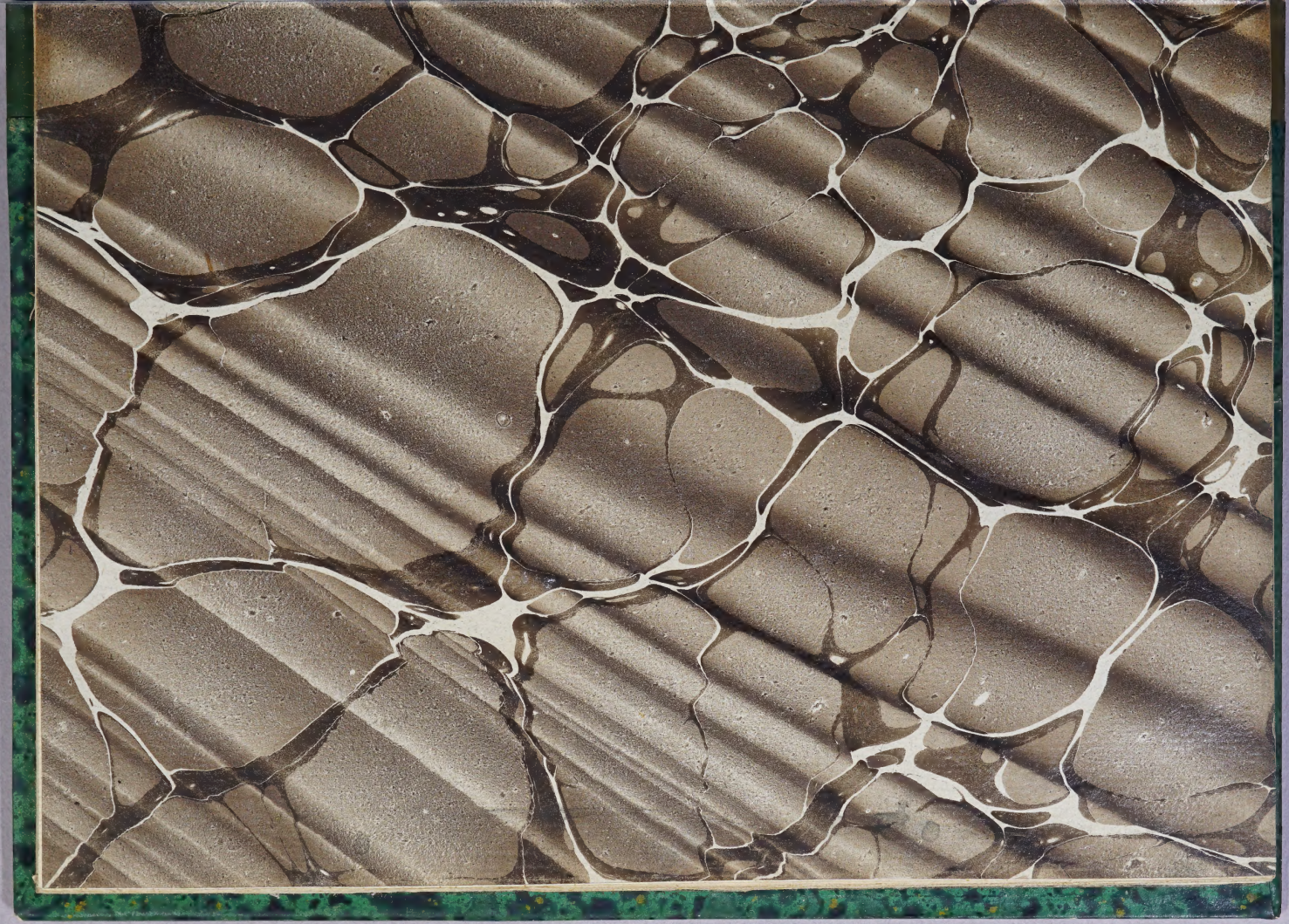
John Carter Brown.



The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day.

OR,

A farther Discovery of the present state of the *INDIANS* IN

New-England,

Concerning the Progresse of the *Gospel* amongst them.

Manifested by Letters from such as preacht to them there.

Published by *Henry Whitfeld*, late Pastor to the Chuch of Christ at *Gilford* in *New-England*, who came late thence.

Zeph. 2. 11. *The Lord will famish all the gods of the earth, and men shall worship him, every one from his place, even all the Iles of the Heathen.*

London, Printed by *T. R.* & *E. M.* for *John Bartlet*, and are to be sold at the Gilt Cup, neer St. *Austins* gate in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1651.

RPJCB

JOHN CARTER BROWN

To the Right Honorable

THE

PARLIAMENT

OF

England

And the

COUNCEL of STATE.

Right Honorable,

HOw abundantly the Lord hath enlarged the hearts, and raiſed the reſolutions of this preſent Parliament to ſerve him, the many good things, and great things done by you, ſufficiently witneſſe, and will be acknowledged, at leaſt in another generation. It is not the ſmalleſt in the eyes of thoſe that look up to God for you, both in Old England *and New, that you have ſo readily contributed your power, upon the firſt notice of the manifeſtation of Gods gracious work upon the Indians, by an Act publiſhed by you, for promoving the ſame.*

In order whereunto I crave leave in all humility to repreſent

represent (having lived some yeers in the Countrey, and lately came thence) how happily the Lord carrieth on his work there, *which I have done in this small Treatise following.*

And for your more full satisfaction, give leave to remove such false surmises and aspersions, suggested on purpose to retard the work. Some are heard to question the affections of New-England *towards the Parliament, and present state; To which I must answer, that the Magistrates, Ministers, and generally the people of* New-England, *so farre as I know or have observed, or can learn, have been faithful and cordial to the Parliament from the first, and do own this present Government, and Common-wealth, giving in this as a reall argument, in being your Honours Remembrancers at the throne of grace, both praying to God for you in your straits, and praising God for the enlargment of his good hand upon you. Others endeavour more directly to prejudice the work, by suggesting that the charity of the wel-affected hath been abused, in that there is no such work, or that there is a greater noise made of it in the world then there is cause; To this I can safely answer, that there hath been, I beleeve in no mans observation, greater faithfulnesse found in any businesse, both for truth of relation in what hath passed, or disposing what hath been contributed; the persons that are concerned in it, whether they be the Corporation established by you, or that have the managing of it*

in

in New-England, *being persons of known integrity, and much honoured of all that know them, in this very respect; Most of these accounts I have seen, both what monies have been received and disbursed, both what, how, and to whom. These also are ready to give your Honours satisfaction about this, if need require, and it will be an ease, and an honour to them to be called to such an account.*

And now the way being thus cleared, I proceed to make it my humble request to your Honours, that you would be pleased to accept of this my humble acknowledgment, and thankful remembrance of what you have already done; and that it would not be troublesome to you to be intreated, and stirred up by my meanesse, to proceed in the continuance of your favour, as to the whole Country, so especially towards this work, that your hands may be still held up to the farther advance, and perfecting these happy beginnings. And as you have given it feet, so you would give it wings, that it may get above al difficulties, which may be cast in the way. Truly the work is honorable, and worthy your care, and inmost affections, and to be laid in your bosomes, that it may feel the warmth and influence of your favour, and best respects, it tending so much to the good of the souls of these poor wild creatures, multitudes of them being under the power of Satan, and going up and downe with the chains of darkenesse ratling at their heels. This I may also say for your Honours encouragement, there is farre greater cause of promoting this work then formerly,

ly, there being more persons, and places which have received the Gospel amongst them. Our Lord Christ and his truth gets ground, and the Devil loseth, they daily break from him, and renounce him, and all his cursed works of darkenesse, as you will find in this following Narrative. *And lastly, let me adde but this, The Lord hath given the uttermost ends of the earth to Jesus Christ for his inheritance, let therefore your hands go on (Noble Worthies) to help him in taking the possession of his* own, *who hath kept you in* yours *with an out-stretched arme. But I shall be no farther troublesome to your Honours; The most wise and strong God, for Christs sake, strengthen your hearts and hands, sit amongst you in your daily assemblings, and help you to guide the Ship of this Common-wealth, under your care, in these tossing and troublesome times, that there may be peace and safety found for such as are quiet in the Land; and let me have the favour to be looked upon by you, as*

Your Honours to serve you

in the things of Jesus Christ,

Henry Whitfeld.

Christian Reader.

I Have adventured to put this smal Treatise *in thy hand, and to give some account of the publishing of it, conceiving it a means to advance that common comfort, which all good Christians do share in with the Angels of heaven, about the conversion of sinners to God. This will appear by shewing there is a doore of hope opened for the poore Indians, of whom it may be thou hast not yet heard; I thought also by relating the truth of things, as they stand at present, concerning the Indians you have heard of, and Gods dealing with them, I might undeceive such as are either apt, or do beleeve, that things reported of them are but a fable, and a device or engine used by some to cheat good people of their money, and so discourage them from yeelding any help towards this great work. The Lord forgive them this great sinne, that have raised these evill reports.*

Vnderstand therefore (good Reader) that my selfe intending (by Gods help) my returne into my native Countrey; It pleased the Lord by his providence, before we could come to the place where we were to take ship for England, *that, by reason of contrary winds, we were faine to put in at an Iland called* Martins *Vineyard, which is the most Southerly Iland that lies in that tract of Land called* New England, *where there is a small Plantation, and a Church gathered, where we stayed about ten dayes, in which time I had the more leasure and opportunity to informe my selfe of the state of the Indians there; having heard formerly that divers of them began to taste the knowledge of Christ: For this end I had recourse to Mr.* Mahu, *who is the Pastor of the Church, and having attained a good understanding in the Indian tongue, and can speak it well, hath laid the first foundation of the knowledge of Christ amongst the Indians there by preaching unto them; who gave me full information of what I desired. I had also speech with some of the Indians (Mr.* Mahu *being my Interpreter.) Above the rest my desire was to speak with the Indian who now preacheth unto them every Lords day twice, whose name is* Hiacoomes, *who seemed to me to be a man of a prompt understanding, of a sober and moderate spirit, and a*

Some call it Marthees Vineyard.

man well reported of for his converſation both by the Engliſh and Indians. I thought him to be about 30 yeers of age; with this man I had often ſpeech, and I asked him divers queſtions about Chriſtian Religion, and about his own eſtate before God. I remember once I asked him theſe queſtions. 1. Whether he had found ſorrow for ſin, as ſin. 2. Whether he had ſorrowed for his ſins as they had pierced Chriſt. 3. Whether he had found the Spirit of God as an inward comforter to him; *Vnto all which he gave me a very good ſatisfactory and Chriſtian anſwer. After this I had the opportunity to go to a private meeting of the Indians (of which you ſhall underſtand more in the Letter following) with Mr.* Mahu, *where having ſpent three or foure houres in Queſtions and Anſwers, which paſſed too and fro between the Indians and my ſelf; at our parting I deſired that one of them would deſire a bleſſing upon what they had heard for their edification, which was accordingly done; for they choſe out a young man who prayed a quarter of an houre, and ſomewhat more, with great reverence and affection, as farre as I could judge by his voyce and outward deportment: Maſter* Mahu *alſo told me that he had many pertinent and ſignificant expreſſions in his prayer; ſo that God hath poured on ſome of them the gift, and I hope the ſpirit of prayer.*

The next day we rode to the Indian Lecture, where Mr. Mahu *preached and catechiſed their children, who anſwered readily and modeſtly in the Principles of Religion; ſome of them anſwered in the Engliſh ſome in the Indian tongue. Thus having ſeen a ſhort model of his way, and of the paines he took, I made ſome enquiry about Mr.* Mahu *himſelf, and about his ſubſiſtance, becauſe* I *ſaw but ſmall and ſlender appearance of outward conveniences of life, in any comfortable way; the man himſelf was modeſt, and I could get but little from him; but after, I underſtood from others how ſhort things went with him, and how he was many times forced to labour with his own hands, having a wife and three ſmall children which depended upon him, to provide neceſſaries for them; having not halfe ſo much yeerly coming in, in a ſetled way, as an ordinary labourer gets there amongſt them. Yet he is chearfull amidſt theſe ſtraits, and none hear him to complain. The truth is, he will not leave the work, in which his heart is engaged; for upon my knowledge, if he would have left the work, and imployed himſelf otherwhere, he might have had a more competent and comfortable maintenance. I mention this the rather, becauſe I have ſome hope, that ſome pious minde, that reads this, might be inwardly moved to conſider his condition, and come to his ſuccor for his encouragement in this great work.*

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At my parting from this Iland I desired Mr. Mahu *that he would take the pains to Write me the Story of Gods dealing with the Indians, from the first time of their coming thither, to this present time; which he accordingly did, and I received before my going out of the Countrey; which Letter of his to me, finding many remarkable passages in it, I thought fit to publish it, that the Lord might have the glory of his free grace, in regard of these poor Heathens who seeme to be the dregs and refuse of* Adams *lost posterity; and to put an edge upon the prayers and prayses of Gods people, the fruit of which will returne into their owne bosomes. And if there be a right set of spirit in you, you will blesse God for such as present such kinde of matter to you, and do put an opportunity into your hands, whereby you may any way be instrumental to promote the Kingdome of our Lord Christ.*

The Letter written with his own hand followeth.

SIR,

YOu being by especial providence of God, brought amongst us, and while you were here looking into the present mercy of God that these Indians were blessed with, you found an occasion farther to enquire what the former dispensations of God have beene to bring them hitherto. Now assuring my self that it is from your desire that the Lord may be glorified in the salvation of these poor Indian souls, I shall, by the assistance of God, declare the truth, and that which shall, by his grace, administer also a ground of prayer to be put unto the God of all blessings in Jesus Christ for us; and I hope, unto any, whom the Lord shall call to the like service, a blessed experience of the Lords workings, turning all things, yea seeming hinderances, to the furtherance of the work of grace amongst them.

Now for your satisfaction you may please to know that this work amongst the Indians had its first rise and beginning in the yeere 1643. When the Lord stirred up the heart of an Indian, who then lived neer to the English Plantation, whose name is *Hiacoomes*, a man of a sad & a sober spirit, unto whose *Wigwam* or house some of the English repairing, & speaking to him about the way of the English, he came to visit our habitations and publike meetings,

thinking that there might be better wayes and means amongst the Englisſh, for the attaining of the bleſſings of health and life, then could be found amongst themſelvs: Yet not without ſome thoughts and hopes of a higher good he might poſſibly gain thereby, at which time I took notice of him, and had oft diſcourſe with him, inviting him to my houſe every Lords day at night. About this time it ſo fell out, that this Indian went with ſome Engliſh men to a little Iland, where meeting a ſurly *Sagamore* whoſe name was *Pake Poneſſo*, who reproached him for his fellowſhip with the Engliſh, both in their civil and religious wayes, railing at him for his being obedient to them: *Hiacoomes* replyed that he was gladly obedient to the Engliſh, neither was it for the Indians hurt he did ſo; Upon which the Sagamore gave him a great blow on the face with his hand; but there being ſome Engliſh men preſent, they would not ſuffer the Sagamore to ſtrike him again. The poor Indian thus wronged, made this uſe of it, and ſaid, *I had one hand for injures, and the other for God, while I did receive wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God.*

By this name they call their Kings and Governors.

There was a very ſtrange diſeaſe this yeare amongſt the Indians, they did run up and down till they could run no longer, they made their faces as black as a coale, ſnatched up any weapon, ſpake great words, but did no hurt; I have ſeen many of them in this caſe. The Indians having many calamities fallen upon them, they laid the cauſe of all their wants, ſickneſſes, and death, upon their departing from their old heatheniſh ways, only this man held out, and continued his care about the things of God: and being deſirous to read, the Engliſh gave him a Primer, which he ſtil carries about with him.

1644. Now whilſt *Hiacoomes* was feeling after God, he met with another tryall; for going into an Indian houſe where there were many Indians, they ſcoffed at him with great laughter, ſaying, *Here comes the Engliſh man*, who by their noyſe awaked his old enemy *Pakeponeſſo*, who was aſleep, who joyning with the other Indians, told him, *I Wonder* (ſaid he) *that you that are a young man, having a Wife and two children, ſhould love the Engliſh and their wayes, and forſake the Pawwawes; What would you do if any of you ſhould be ſick? Whither would you go for help? I ſay if I were in your caſe there ſhould nothing draw me from our gods and Pawwawes.* At this time he replyed nothing, but told a friend of his that he then thought in his heart that the God in heaven did know and heare

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all the evill words that *Pakeponeſſo* ſpake. Thus the changing of his way cauſed much hatred to him, neither was there ſo much as the leaſt appearance of any outward argument amongſt us, that might weigh againſt it.

After this there fell a great judgment of God on this Sagamore; for in the night when he and his company were in the *Wigwam, it beginning to raine, he and a young man ſtood up upon the floor of planks which lay about two foot from the ground, to put a Matt over the Chimnie, there came a great flaſh of lightning, and after it thunder not very loud, yet full of the vengeance of God, which killed the young man out-right, and ſtrook *Pakeponeſſo* down dead for a long time, and he fell off from the floore of planks along upon the ground with one legge in the fire, and being much burned, it was took out by ſome that lay in the other ſide of the Indian houſe. Now *Hiacoomes* (as himſelf ſaith) did remember his former thoughts of God, and then thought God did anſwer him, and that he was brought more to rejoyce in God, and reſt more upon him.

* *An Indian houſe or wigwam is made with ſmal poles like an arbour covered with mats, and their fire is in the midſt, over which they leave a place for the ſmoak to go out at.*

Now in theſe times, as I did endeavour the good of theſe Heathens by diſcourſe with diverſe of them, ſo in particular with *Hiacoomes*, who did communicate that knowledge he had amongſt thoſe he could; for ſome of them could not endure the light he brought; ſome were more attentive to hear, and more ready to follow the truth, yet they did not well behold the Majeſty of the Lord by theſe perſonal particular works; at laſt the Lord ſent an univerſal ſicknes, and it was obſerved by the Indians, that they that did but give the hearing of good counſel, did not taſte ſo deeply of it, but *Hiacoomes* and his family in a manner not at all. This put the Indians who dwell about ſix miles from us, upon ſerious conſideration of the thing, being much affected, that he which had expoſed himſelf to ſuch reproaches and troubles, ſhould receive more bleſſings then themſelves; hereupon they ſent a meſſenger to *Hiacoomes*, who was with him about the break of day, and delivering his meſſage, told him that he was come to pray him to go preſently to *Myoxeo* the chief man of that place, and he ſhould have a reward for his labour; for the Indians were very deſirous to know from him all things that he knew, and did, in the wayes of God; ſo he being glad of the opportunity, went with the meſſenger, and when he came, there were many Indians gathered together, amongſt which was *Towanquatick* the Sagamore, then

1645.

1646.

then after many requeſts (the general whereof was this, that he would ſhew his heart unto them, how it ſtood towards God, and what they muſt do) he ſhewed unto them all things he knew concerning God the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghoſt; *Myoxeo* asking him how many Gods the Engliſh did worſhip, he anſwered one God, whereupon *Myoxeo* reckoned up about 37. principal gods he had, and ſhall I (ſaid he) throw away theſe 37. gods for one? *Hiacoomes* replyed, what do you think of your ſelf? I have throwne away all theſe, and a great many more ſome yeers ago, yet am preſerved as you ſee this day; you ſpeak true ſaid *Myoxeo*; therefore I will throw away all my gods too, and ſerve that one God with you. *Hiacoomes* told them all, he did fear this great God only, and alſo in a ſpeciall manner that the Son of God did ſuffer death to ſatisfie the wrath of God his Father, for all thoſe that did truſt in him, and forſake their ſinnes, and that the ſpirit of God did work theſe things in the hearts of men, and that himſelf did feare this great God only, was ſorry for his ſinnes, deſiring to be redeemed by Ieſus Chriſt, and to walk in Gods commandments; this, with many truths more he ſhewed unto them, As *Adams* tranſgreſſion, and the miſery of the world by it, and did conclude, that if they had ſuch hearts as he, they ſhould have the ſame mercies. He reckoned up to them many of their ſins, as having many gods, going to Pawwawes; and *Hiacoomes* told me himſelf, that this was the firſt time that ever he ſaw the Indians ſenſible of their ſins; formerly they did but hear it as a new thing, but not ſo nearly concerning them, for they were exceeding thankful, ſaying, alſo *now we have ſeen our ſins*. Thus it pleaſed the Lord to give both light and courage to this poore Indian; for although formerly he had been a harmleſſe man amongſt them, yet, as themſelves ſay, not at all accounted of, and therefore they often wondered that he which had nothing to ſay in all their meetings formerly, is now become the Teacher of them all; I muſt needs give him this teſtimony, after ſome yeers experience of him, that he is a man of a ſober ſpirit, and good converſation, and as he hath, as I hope, received the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in truth, ſo alſo I look upon him to be faithful, diligent, and conſtant in the work of the Lord, for the good of his own ſoul and his neighbours with him.

Though I have written this paſſage to Mr. Winſlow in my

Now, after theſe things it pleaſed God to move the heart of *Towanquatick*, encouraged by ſome others amongſt them, to deſire me to preach unto them. At my coming, this man ſpake thus unto

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me; *That a long time agon they had wise men, which in a grave manner taught the people knowledge; but they are dead, and their wisdome is buried with them, and now men live a giddy life, in ignorance, till they are white headed, and though ripe in yeeres, yet then they go without wisdome to their graves.* He told me that he wondered the English should be almost thirty yeers in the Country and the Indians fools still; but he hoped the time of knowledge was now come; wherefore himself with others desired me to give them an Indian meeting, to make known the word of God to them in their own tongue; and when he came to me to accomplish his desire thereabout, he told me *That I should be to them as one that stands by a running river filling many vessels*, even so should I fill them with everlasting knowledge; So I undertook to give them a meeting once a moneth; but as soone as the first Exercise was ended, they desired it oftner then I could well attend it, but once in a fortnight in our setled course. He hath also since told me the reason why he desired me to preach to them, as that he was greatly desirous to have the Indians grow more in goodnesse, to have their posterity inherit blessings when he was dead; and himself was desirous to put the Word of God to his heart, to repent, and throw away his sins, and to be better, and after he was dead, to inherit a life in heaven.

Letter to him, which is printed, yet it is not so full a story as here, and therefore I have added it.

Now there be three things in this beginning that were greatly inquired into. 1. Earthly riches, what they should get. 2. What approbation they should get from other Sagamores and Governors. 3. How they should come off from the Pawwawes; but in neither of these could they finde that which might give motion to a carnal minde; for the first kept off many, I have had much discourse with several of them about it, wherein they have strongly stood for their own meetings, wayes and customes, being in their account more profitable then ours, wherein they meet with nothing but talking and praying. The second also remaines an obstacle, the Sagamores generally are against the way. The third is the strongest cord that binds them to their own way, for the Pawwawes by their witchcraft keep them in feare, many of the Indians got over the two first difficulties, and in some measure the third; now there were about twelve which came to the meeting as it were halting between two opinions, others came to hear and see what was done, for although they had heard and seen something of the one God of heaven, yet such was their unspeakable darkneſſe

neſſe, their captivity in ſin, and bondage to the Pawwawes, that they hardly durſt for feare take the beſt way, for though a few of them were better enlightned, yet the Heathen round about ſtuck faſt in their old brutiſhneſſe.

1647. We had not long continued the meeting, but the Sagamore *Towanquatick* met with a ſad tryal, for he being at a Weare where ſome Indians were a fiſhing, where alſo was an Engliſh man, as he lay along upon a matt on the ground aſleep, by a little light fire, the night being very dark, an Indian came down, as being ready fitted for the purpoſe, and being about ſix or eight paces from him, let flie a broad headed arrow, purpoſing by all probability to drench the deadly arrow in his heart blood, but the Lord prevented it; for notwithſtanding all the advantages he had, inſtead of the heart he hit the eye-brow, which like a brow of ſteele turned the point of the arrow, which, glancing away, ſlit the top of his noſe to the bottome. A great ſtirre there was preſently, the Sagamore ſate up, and bled much, but was not much hurt through the mercy of God; the darkneſſe of the night hid the murtherer, and he is not diſcovered to this day. The next morning I went to ſee the Sagamore, and I found him praiſing God for his great deliverance, both himſelf and all the Indians, wondering that he was yet alive. The cauſe of his being ſhot, as the Indians ſaid, was for his walking with the Engliſh; and it is alſo conceived, both by them and us, that his forwardneſſe for the meeting was one thing, which (with the experience I have had of him ſince) gives me matter of ſtrong perſwaſion that he beares in his brow the markes of the Lord Jeſus.

This man when I was in the Iland I often ſaw and ſpake with, ſeeing alſo the skar upon his eye-brow and noſe.

After this, through the mercy of God, we proceeded on with the meeting, to the rejoycing of ſome Indians, and the envie of the reſt, who derided and ſcoffed at thoſe that did follow the Lecture, and in their way of wickedneſſe blaſpheming the Name of God, which damped the ſpirits of ſome of them for a time in the wayes of God, and hindering others from looking thitherward, but the Lord gave courage and conſtancy to ſome of them, eſpecially to *Hiacoomes* and *Towanquatick* who was hurt with the arrow, who were not aſhamed of the way of God.

1648. And hereupon they made farther progreſſe in the way of God, for without any knowledge thereof, they appointed a meeting, and there came ſome younger men, and brought with them the ancient men of their kindred and acquaintance to ſpeak for them, whereof the

Although I was preſent at this meeting from

the very old man that your ſelf ſaw and heard at the meeting, was one, who began the meeting with a relation of the old cuſtomes of the ancient Heathen, preferring them before thoſe wayes of their own they were now in, yet acknowledging they were farre inferior to thoſe wayes of God they had now begun: Then twelve of the young men went and took *Sacochanimo* by the hand one by one and told him that they did love him, and would go with him in Gods way, and ſome of them made a long ſpeech to him to this purpoſe; and the old men encouraged them in their way, & deſired them never to forget thoſe promiſes they had now made; then one of the young men told me the ground of their meeting, *viz.* They were ſorry to ſee that the meeting did go on no more ſtrongly, and that there were no more at it, and that they were deſirous to ſtrengthen themſelves in the way of God, to have good hearts, and one heart, and to walk together in love in the wayes of God. So after they had eaten together the victuals of their own providing, and we had ſung part of a Pſalme in their own language, and I had prayed with them, they returned with the manifeſtation of much joy and thankfulneſſe; and this I can ſay, they are generally conſtant in the way of God, and I have great hopes of ſome of them, bleſſed be his name.

the beginning to the end, yet it was done without my privity or putting them on upon it, but it came meerly from themſelvs.

This was Towanqueticks *eldeſt ſonne.*

After this it pleaſed the Lord to ſtirre up the hearts of the Indians to appoint another meeting, and many Indians being met, they fell to a great diſcourſe about the Pawwawes power to kill men, and there were many ſtories told of the great hurt they had done by their witchcraft many wayes (here you muſt know, that though the Indians many of them were brought by the knowledge they had of God, to renounce the Pawwawes help in time of ſickneſſe or otherwiſe, yet they found it hard to get from under the yoake of cruelty that they and their forefathers had ſo long groaned under; for I know ſome, that then groaned under it, acknowledged they did ſee that in God which would free them from it, if they had but confidence to truſt in him. Then the queſtion was asked, Who is there that doth not fear the Pawwawes? anſwer was made by ſome who favoured them, there is not any man which is not afraid of the Pawwawes; then looking upon *Hiacoomes*, who was one that proteſted moſt againſt them, told him that the Pawwawes could kill him; he anſwered they could not; they asked him againe, why? he told them, becauſe he did beleeve in God and truſt in him, and that therfore all the Pawwaws could not do him any hurt;

1649.

Then they all wondered exceedingly when he ſpake thus ſo openly. Then divers of them ſaid one by one, though before I was afraid of the Pawwawes, yet now, becauſe I hear *Hiacoomes* his words, I do not fear them, but beleeve in God too. Then the meeting at this time was carried on, and *Hiacoomes* is deſired by the Indians to reckon up their ſins unto them; he preſently found 45. or 50. and as many good duties; his work was very well liked, and in the concluſion twenty two Indians were found to reſolve againſt thoſe evils, and to walk with God, and attend the word of God.

1650. But I may not here forget an Indian called *Hummanequem*, who exceeded all the reſt, to the wonderment of the Indians; he with much ſorrow, hatred, and courage, related about twenty of his own ſins, and profeſſed to follow the one God againſt all oppoſition; He told them he was brought into this condition by *Hiacoomes* his counſel from the Word of God, which at firſt he ſaid he liked not, afterwayes laid it by him as a thing to be conſidered, not knowing well what to do; at laſt, looking over things again, he came to this reſolution which you have now heard; I confeſſe this action makes me think he ſpake more then from a natural principle, conſidering that the man hath been ſince an earneſt ſeeker of more light both publike and private; as alſo for refuſing the help of a Pawwaw which lives within a bow ſhoot of his doore, when his wife was three dayes in travel, and waited patiently upon God, till they obtained a merciful deliverance by prayer.

And whilſt we were making progreſſe in the work of the Lord on a Lecture day, an Indian ſtood up, and ſaid he had been a ſinner, and committed many evill things, but now was ſorry for them, and did repent, deſired to forſake his ſins, and to walk in Gods way. Then he went to the Sagamore *Towanquetick*, and took him by the hand, ſaying, *I do love you, and do greatly deſire to go along with you for Gods ſake*; the like alſo he ſaid to ſome others, and then came to me in like manner, ſaying, *I pray love me, and I do love you, and am deſirous to go with you for Gods ſake*; ſo he was received with many thanks, and ſince I know him to be diligent and laborious. I confeſſe I marvelled to ſee them act with ſuch a ſpirit, but I conſidered, it was ſutable to their own meeting in 48.

Now the Indian accompanied his friend that ſuddenly loſt his two ſons; he I ſay remaining ſtill in his obſtinacy, is alſo found out, and feeles the wrath of God, being ſtricken with a dead Palſie, all one

ſide

ſide of him, but his eye and eare; The dead Palſie is a ſtrange and unwonted diſeaſe amongſt the Indians; I have beene ſometimes with him; when I ſpake to him, he fetched many ſighs; he is at this day a living and a dead monument of the Lords diſpleaſure, having hurt himſelf moſt, and done them moſt good he hated.

Another thing is a remarkable combate between two Indians and a Pawwaw, who, on the Lords day after meeting, came in very angry, ſaying, I know the meeting Indians are lyars; you ſay you care not for the Pawwawes; then calling two or three of them by name, and railing at them, told them that they were deceived, for the Pawwawes could kill all the meeting Indians if they did ſet about it; with that one of the young men replyed with much courage, ſaying, it is true, I do not fear the Pawwawes, neither do I deſire any favour at their hands, pray kill me if you can. And *Hiacoomes* told him alſo that he would be in the midſt of all the Pawwawes of the Iland that they could procure, and they ſhould do their utmoſt they could againſt him, and when they did their worſt by their witchcrafts to kill him, he would without feare ſet himſelf againſt them, by remembring *Jehovah*; he told him alſo that he did put all the Pawwawes under his heel, pointing unto it; which anſwers did preſently ſilence the Pawwawes devilliſh ſpirit, and had he nothing to ſay, but that none but *Hiocoomes* was able ſo to do.

I have obſerved the wiſe diſpoſing hand of God in another Providence of his; there have not as I know, any man, woman or child died of the meeting Indians ſince the meeting began, untill now of late the Lord took away *Hiacoomes* his child which was about five dayes old; he was beſt able to make a good uſe of it, and to carry himſelf well in it, and ſo was his wife alſo; and truly they gave an excellent example in this alſo, as they have in other things; here were no black faces for it as the manner of the Indians is, nor goods buried with it, nor helliſh howlings over the dead, but a patient reſigning of it to him that gave it; There were ſome Engliſh at the burial, and many Indians to whom I ſpake ſomething of the Reſurrection, and as we were going away, one of the Indians told me he was much refreſhed in being freed from their old cuſtomes, as alſo to hear of the Reſurrection of good men and their children to be with God.

There are now by the grace of God thirty nine Indian men of

this meeting, beſides women that are looking this way, which we ſuppoſe to exceed the number of the men, though not known by open entrance into Covenant as the men, but are now near it. Theſe in general have the knowledge of the fundamental points of Religion; your ſelf when you were with us, had ſome tryal of it; it was a great while my maine work to adminiſter light in general to them; and there now, through mercy, appears ſome life, hoping that ſome of them have received this great mercy of God in Chriſt. This is a great incouragement to me, as alſo that their hearts are engaged in the way of the Lord for the ſalvation of their own ſouls upon Gods ends. One of theſe meeting Indians ſaid (and I hope feelingly) that if all the world, the riches, plenty, and pleaſures of it were preſented without God, or God without all theſe, I would take God. And another ſaid, that if the greateſt Sagamore in the Land ſhould take him in his armes, and proffer him his love, and riches and gifts to turn from his way, he would not go with him from this way of God. I heard one of them of his own accord (and to the ſame purpoſe) in complaining againſt head knowledge and lip prayers, without heart holineſſe, loathing the condition of ſuch a man, ſaying, I deſire my heart may taſte the word of God, repent of my ſinnes, and leane upon the Redemption of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Some of them having a diſcourſe with *Vzzamequin* a great Sachem or Governour on the maine Land (coming amongſt them) about the wayes of God, he enquired what earthly good things came along with them, and demandingof them what they had gotten by all they had done this way? one of them replyed, we ſerve not God for cloathing, nor for any outward thing. I have obſerved many ſuch like paſſages; but my occaſions at preſent will not permit me to ſet them down, I only bring you thoſe things which are moſt ready in my minde.

The laſt thing that I took ſpecial notice of, is, the receiving of the five men when your ſelf was preſent, into the meeting Indian number, one of them (the young man you ſaw) was ſent at firſt about two or three months before by one of the greateſt Pawwawes upon the Iland to learn and ſpy what was done at the meeting, and carry him word, but at the laſt he learned ſo much as he then openly profeſt to hate the Pawwawes and their witchcrafts, and that he did repent of his ſinnes, and deſired to go with the meeting Indians in Gods ways; another ſaid he deſired to joyn with the meeting Indians that he might have a renewed good heart, the

other

other were much like affected, only one of them reckoned up the commandments, and as he proceeded he proteſted againſt the ſins forbidden, and profeſſed obedience to the duties commanded; the laſt anſwered the queſtion put to him by your ſelf, *viz.* by what power they did think to do this? who anſwered, Firſt, by his good deſire; and ſecondly, by the help and bleſſing of Jeſus Chriſt.

Juſt now whilſt I am a writing, there comes an Indian unto me, aud tels me his minde in theſe words, I ſhall long for your returne back again out of the Bay, that we may hear the good word of God; the former ſins of my heart in the time of my youth I now remember; when I hear the word of God, and when I walk in the woods alone, I have much talk with God, and great repentance for my ſins, and now I throw behind me all my ſtrange gods, and my heart goes right to God in prayer.

The way that I am now in (through the grace of God) for the carrying on of this great work, is by a Lecture every fortnight, whereunto both men women and children do come; and firſt I pray with them, teach them, chatechiſe their children, ſing a Pſalm, and all in their own language. I conferre every laſt day of the week with *Hiacoomes* about his ſubject matter of preaching to the Indians the next day, where I furniſh him with what ſpiritual food the Lord is pleaſed to afford me for them, wherein God hath much aſſiſted him for his own and their ſpiritual good and advantage, who is diligent and conſcionable to hold forth the grace of Chriſt to the Indians. For this purpoſe your fervent and frequent prayers together with all thoſe who rejoyce in advancing the Scepter of Chriſt, are by me earneſtly deſired, and for me that I may preach him amongſt the Heathen, to the praiſe of the excellency of his own power, and not mine; and that the Indians in this ſmall beginning, being Gods husbandry, and Gods building, may be a fruitful glorious ſpreading Vine, and builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit, unto whom I commend you in Jeſus, and in him reſt

From Great Harbor in Martins Vineyard Sept. 7. 1650

Yours in the Lord to be commanded,

THOMAS MAYHOW.

NOw to *ſpeak ſomewhat farther of the proceeding of the things of Chriſt amongſt the Indians of* Mattacuſets *and thereabouts ſince the laſt books came forth; Somewhat I ſaw and underſtood concerning thoſe Indians which are under the care of Mr.* Eliot, *unto whom I repaired at my coming from* Martins Vineyard, *who acquainted me with the ſtate of things amongſt the Indians as they were at preſent; at which time I rode with him to the* Water-town *Indians, and heard him preach to them, and catechize their children in the Indian tongue; who wrote alſo by me to Mr.* Winſlow, *the Agent of the Countrey; which Letter, together with ſome other ſent ſince the laſt publication by the Preſſe, the Corporation of* New England *deſired me that they might be joyned and printed with this written by Maſter* Mahu; *which letters here follow.*

Much honoured Sir,

YOur very loving acceptance of my Letters doth engage me very much unto you, but eſpecially your cordial rejoycing in the progreſſe of this work of the Lord among theſe poor Indians. Sir, I ſhall firſt anſwer ſome material things in your Letter. Firſt, for that opinion of *Rabbi-ben-Iſrael* which you mention, I would intreat you to requeſt the ſame godly Miniſter (nay I hope he hath already done it) to ſend to him to know his grounds, and how he came to that Intelligence, when was it done, which way were they tranſported into *America*, by whom, and what occaſion, how many, and to what Parts firſt, or what ſteps of intimation of ſuch a thing may there be. I had ſome thoughts in my heart to ſearch the Original of this People, that I might finde under what Covenant and Promiſe their fore-fathers have been, for the help of my faith; for *Jehovah* remembers and giveth being to ancient Promiſes. What had become of us ſonnes of *Japhet*, if the Lord had not remembred that (and ſuch like ancient Promiſes) *God ſhall perſwade* Japhet *to dwell in the Tents of* Shem. If theſe people be under a Covenant and Promiſe as ancient as *Shem* and *Eber*, it is a ground of faith to expect mercy for them.

Now this I have thought, that it ſeemeth to me as clear in the Scripture, that theſe are the children of *Shem* as we of *Japhet*, and *Shem* was a great man in the Church, and to whom *Abraham* paid *Tythes*; for I beleeve he was *Melchiſedeck*; yea it ſeemeth to me probable that theſe people are Hebrews, of *Eber*, whoſe ſonnes the

Gen. 10.

Scripture

Scripture ſends fartheſt Eaſt (as it ſeemeth to me) and learned *Broughton* put ſome of them over into *America*, and certainly this Country was peopled Eaſtward from the place of the *Arks* reſting, ſeeing the finding of them by the Weſt is but of yeſterday: Now *Eber* was alſo a great man in the Church; *Abraham* the Hebrew, ſaith the text; and how often in the Scriptures doth the Lord uſe that bleſſed word of *Grace* and *Covenant*, *I am the God of the Hebrewes*? beſides there be ſundry Propheſies in Scripture, *unto the goings down of the Sunne*; and let it be conſidered whether *America* be not to be accounted among the places that are the goings down of the Sunne unto thoſe places where thoſe Promiſes were promulgated; And when the Lord inlarged the Promiſe to *Jacob* (as the light and extent of grace hath ever been encreaſing and enlarging) he promiſed to make him a Nation and a multitude of Nations, which ſo farre as we regard a litteral accompliſhment, is in part accompliſht in the Nation of the Jewes, and the other part remaineth (as it may ſeem) to be accompliſht in the loſt Iſraelites ſcattered in the world, principally, if not wholly, amongſt the ſons of *Japhet* and *Shem*; and our God who can and will gather the ſcattered and loſt duſt of our bodies at the Reſurrection, can and will finde out theſe loſt and ſcattered Iſraelites, and in finding of them, bring in with them the Nations among whom they were ſcattered, and ſo ſhall *Jacobs* Promiſe extend to a multitude of Nations indeed; and this is a great ground of faith for the converſion of the Eaſterne Nations, and may be of help to our faith for theſe Indians; eſpecially if *Rabbi Ben-Iſrael* can make it appeare that ſome of the Iſraelites were brought into *America*, and ſcattered here, or if the Lord ſhall by any meanes give us to underſtand the ſame.

Theſe meditations upon Scripture grounds do miniſter comfort & encouragement to my heart with others alſo, as, *That all Languages ſhall ſee his Glory, and that all Nations and Kingdoms ſhall become the Kingdoms of the Lord Ieſus*; and this I deſire to do, to look unto Scripture grounds only; *Oh this precious this perfect Word of God!* You intimate alſo how zealouſly worthy Mr. *Owen* did proſecute this work; the Lord reward him, and the Lord accept him in all his holy labours. Likewiſe you intimate how acceptable this work is to the Parliament, that bleſſed Aſſembly, whom the Lord Chriſt hath delighted to make inſtrumental to begin to ſet up the longed for, prayed for, and deſired Kingdome of the Lord

Ieſus;

Jeſus; for we may ſee in ſome meaſure the accompliſhment of that Propheſie of Chriſt, *Luke* 21. 25. The peaceable ſummer beginning to ariſe out of theſe diſtreſſed times of perplexity, all thoſe ſignes preceding the glorious coming of Chriſt are accompliſhing, and a thick black cloud is gathered, a cloud of blood, confuſion, Hereſies and Errors, and the thickeſt and moſt portentous black part of that cloud is the Toleration of the moſt groſſe and convicted impieties under the pretence of conſcience, which miſapplication of the Sword of Authority (if it ſhould awhile prevaile) cannot be innocent, and will undoubtedly prolong the ſtorme and delay of the reigne of Chriſt; But notwithſtanding all this black cloud, who ſeeth not the glorious coming of the Lord Jeſus breaking through this cloud, and coming with power and great glory? He is King of Kings and reigneth over Kings; for where Juſtice reignes, Chriſt doth reigne; and that Antichriſtian principle for man to be above God, whether the Pope in the Church, or Monarches in the Common-wealth, is thrown to the ground. He that is above the Law, is above the Word; and he that is above the Word, is above Chriſt; Chriſt reigneth not over ſuch as be above his Law: But behold, now Chriſt reigneth, and glorioufly breaks forth in the brightneſſe of his coming, and will in his time ſcatter all this thick black cloud, yea the thickeſt of it. Now this glorious work of bringing in and ſetting up the glorious kingdome of Chriſt, hath the Lord of his free grace and mercy put into the hands of this renowned Parliament and Army; Lord put it into all their hearts to make this deſigne of Chriſt their main firſt and chiefeſt endeavour, according to the Word, *Seek firſt the Kingdom of heaven and the righteouſneſſe thereof, and all other things ſhall be added.* And when the Lord Jeſus is about to ſet up his bleſſed Kingdome among theſe poore Indians alſo, how well doth it become the ſpirit of ſuch inſtruments in the hand of Chriſt to promote that work alſo, being the ſame buſineſſe in ſome reſpect which themſelves are about by the good hand of the Lord.

Surely Sir, your chief work of this nature now is to follow this Indian work which ſticks in the birth for want of means. You would marvel if I ſhould tell you how they long to come into a way of civility by co-habitation, and by forming government among themſelves, that ſo they being in ſuch order might have a Church and the Ordinances of Chriſt among them; but want of a Magazine of all ſorts of tools and materials for ſuch a work, is the preſent impediment.

The

The Lord is wiſer then man, and his time is beſt; I will not ſay any thing now for farther direction about what is requiſite for the work which the Lord is preparing their hearts unto; my former Letters have ſaid enough that way, partly to you, and partly to Mr. *Pelham*, whoſe Letters I hope you have ſeen as containing ſundry things neceſſary for your view; and I doubt not but your wiſdome will readily adde what is lacking in what I have projected; only let me ſay this, that I dayly ſtill ſee more evidence that that is the very way which the Lord would have us take at preſent.

Let me, I beſeech you, trouble you a little farther with ſome conſiderations about this great Indian work which lyeth upon me, as my continual care, prayer, deſire and endeavour to carry on, namely for their ſchooling and education of youth in learning, which is a principal means for promoting of it for future times; If the Lord bring us to live in a Towne and Society, we muſt have ſpeiial care to have Schools for the inſtruction of the youth in reading, that they may be able to read the Scriptures at leaſt. And therefore there muſt be ſome Annual revenew for the maintaining of ſuch Schoolmaſters and Dames; Beſides, I do very much deſire to tranſlate ſome parts of the Scriptures into their language, and to print ſome Primer in their language wherein to initiate and teach them to read, which ſome of the men do much alſo deſire, and printing ſuch a thing will be troubleſome and chargable, and I having yet but little skill in their language (having little leaſure to attend it by reaſon of my continual attendance on my Miniſtry in our own Church) I muſt have ſome Indians, and it may be other help continually about me to try and examine Tranſlations, which I look at as a ſacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence; and all this is chargable; therefore I look at that as a ſpecial matter on which coſt is to be beſtowed, if the Lord provide means, for I have not means of my own for it. I have a family of many children to educate, and therefore I cannot give over my Miniſtry in our Church whereby my family is ſuſtained to attend the Indians to whom I give, and of whom I receive nothing, nor have they any thing to give: ſo that want of money is the only thing in view that doth retard a more full proſecution of this work unto which the Lord doth ripen them apace.

Moreover, there be ſundry prompt, pregnant witted youths, not vitiouſly inclined, but well diſpoſed, which I deſire may be wholly

 ſequeſtred

sequestred to learning, and put to Schoole for that purpose, had we means; and I suppose ten pounds *per Annum* to be paid in *England*, will maintaine one Indian youth at Schoole, and halfe a score such Gifts or Annuities would by the blessing of God greatly further this work so farre as concerns that particular.

I had thought to have set down some of their Questions, whereby you might perceive how these dry bones begin to gather flesh and sinnews; but partly I have them not ready, for I have not leasure to set them down at present, and they soone slip my memory, and I did it in all my last Letters, and may do it again, if the Lord will, hereafter. And therefore thus much at present, being cald off to hasten to seale up my Letters, the Lord Jesus blesse you, sanctifie and keep you in all your labours and travels, and accept you, and all your works, and return you again unto us in due season here to see Gods blessing with your eyes upon those poore souls, for whose sakes you have laboured, and the Lord supply your absence to all yours; and so commending you to the Lord and to the word of his grace which is able to sanctifie and save you, I rest

Roxburg, this 8. *of the* 5. 49.

Your [illegible] *Brother and fellow labourer for the good of the poor Indians.*

JOHN ELIOT.

Worthy and much esteemed in the Lord.

IT is no small encouragement unto my spirit, not only to go on unweariably in this enterprize which the Lord hath set my heart upon, but also to expect a great blessing therein; only I must intimate two *Redundances*, one is *page* 8. where there is a great (I) redundant which maketh the sence untrue; but if left out, the sence is both good and true; for (*I*) was not the Nominative case or efficient of that Verb, or Act of intreating Mr. *Mahu* to teach them, but it was the Indians Act, and so I said, and so is the sence if that (great I) be left out. A second *Redundancie* is *page* 17. (though misfigured and no matter) where you put the title of *Evangelist* upon me, which all men take, and you seeme so to put it for that extra-

ordinary

ordinary office mentioned in the *New Teſtament*; I do beſeech you to ſuppreſſe all ſuch things, if ever you ſhould have occaſion of doing the like; let us ſpeak and do, and carry all things with all humility; it is the Lord who hath done what is done, and it is moſt becoming the ſpirit of Jeſus Chriſt to lift up Chriſt, and our ſelves lie low; I wiſh that that word could be obliterated if any of the books remain.

Now ſeeing it is ſo great a comfort to you to hear how the Lord is pleaſed to carry on this work, I ſhall relate unto you ſome paſſages, whereby you may ſee in what frame they be; I had, and ſtill have, a great deſire to go to a great fiſhing place, *Namaske* upon *Merimak*; and becauſe the Indians way lyeth beyond the great River which we cannot paſſe with our horſes, nor can we well go to it on this ſide the river, unleſſe we go by *Naſhaway*, which is about, and bad way, unbeaten, the Indians not uſing that way; I therefore hired a hardy man of *Naſhaway* to beat out a way and to mark trees, ſo that he may Pilot me thither in the ſpring, and he hired Indians with him and did it; and in the way paſſed through a great people called *Sowahagen Indians*, ſome of which had heard me at *Pantuket* and at *Naſhaway*, and had carried home ſuch tydings, that they were generally ſtirred with a deſire that I would come and teach them; and when they ſaw a man come to cut out a way for me that way, they were very glad; and when he told them I intended to come that way the next ſpring, they ſeemed to him full of joy, and made him very welcome. But in the Spring, when I ſhould have gone, I was not well, it being a very ſickly time, ſo that I ſaw the Lord prevented me of that journey; yet when I went to *Pautuket* another fiiſhing place, where from all parts about they met together, thither came divers of theſe *Sowahegen* Indians, and heard me teach, and I had conference with them; and among other things, I asked whether *Sowahegen* Indians were deſirous to pray to God; they anſwered; yea, I asked how many deſired it; they anſwered *wamu*, that is, *All*, and with ſuch affection as did much affect thoſe Chriſtian men that I had with me in company.

The chief *Sachim* of this place *Pautuket*, and of all *Mermak* in *Papaſſaconnoway*, whom I mentioned unto you the laſt yeere, who gave up himſelf and his ſonnes to pray unto God, this man did this yeer ſhew very great affection to me, and to the Word of God; he did exceeding earneſtly, importunately invite me to come and live there and teach them; he uſed many arguments, many where-

of I have forgotten: but this was one, *that my coming thither but once in a yeere, did them but little good, because they soone had forgotten what I taught, it being so seldome, and so long betwixt the times*; further he said, *That he had many men, and of them many nought, and would not beleeve him that praying to God was so good, but if I would come and teach them, he hoped they would beleeve me*; He farther added, that I did, *as if one should come and throw a fine thing among them, and they earnestly catch at it, and like it well, because it looks finely, but they cannot look into it to see what is within it, and what it is within, they cannot tell whether something or nothing, it may be a stock or a stone is within it, or it may be a precious thing; but if it be opened, and they see what is within it, and see it precious, then they should beleeve it* (so said he) *you tell us of praying to God*, (for so they call all Religion) *and we like it well at the first sight, and we know not what it is within, it may be excellent, or it may be nothing, We cannot tell, but if you would come unto us, and open it unto us, and shew us what it is within, then we should beleeve that it is so excellent as you say, when we see it opened*; Such elegant arguments as these did he use, with much gravity, wisdome and affection; and truly my heart much yearneth towards them, and I have a great desire to make our Indian Towne that way; yet the Lord by the Eye of Providence seemeth not to look thither, partly because there is not a competent place of due encouragement for subsistence, which would spoyle the work; and partly because our Indians which are our first and chief materials in present view, are loth to go Northward, though they say they will go with me any whether; but it concerneth me much not to lead them into temptation of scarity, cold and want, which may damp the progresse of the Gospel; but I rather think where ever I begin the first Towne, (if I live) I must begin more townes then one, or oh that the Lord would raise up more and more fit labourers into this harvest.

Another Indian, who lived remote another way, asked me if I had any children? I answered yea; he asked how many? I said sixe; he asked how many of them were sonnes? I told him five; then he asked whether my sonnes should teach the Indians to know God as I do? at which question I was much moved in my heart, for I have often in my prayers dedicated all my sonnes unto the Lord to serve him in this service, if he will please to accept them therein; and my purpose is to do my uttermost to traine them up in learning, whereby they may be fitted in the best manner I can to serve the

Lord

Lord herein, and better preferment I desire not for them then to serve the Lord in this travel; and to that purpose I answered him, and my answer seemed to be well pleasing to them, which seemed to minister to my heart some encouragement, that the Lords meaning was to improve them that way, and he would prepare their hearts to accept the same.

There is another aged *Sachem* at *Quabagud* threescore miles Westward, and he doth greatly desire that I would come thither and teach them, and live there; and I made a journey thither this summer, and I went by *Nashaway*; but it so fell out that there were some stirres betwixt the *Nazaganset* and *Monahegen* Indians, some murder committed, &c. which made our Church doubtful at first of my going, which when the *Nashaway Sachem* heard, he commanded twenty armed men (after their manner) to be ready, and himself with these twenty men; besides sendry of our neer Indians went along with me to guard me, but I took some English along with me also, so that hereby their good affection is manifested to me, and to the work I have in hand; here also I found sundry hungry after instruction, but it pleased God to exercise us with such tedious raine, and bad weather, that we were extreme wet, insomuch that I was not dry night nor day from the third day of the week unto the sixth, but so travelled, and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockins, and on with them again, and so continued; the rivers also were raised, so as that we were wet in riding through; but that which added to my affliction was, my horse tyred, so that I was forced to let my horse go empty, and ride on one of the mens horses which I took along with me, yet God stept in and helped; I considered that word of God, 2 *Tim* 2, 3. *Endure hardship as a good Souldier of Christ*; with many other such like meditations, which I think not meet to mention now. And I thank the Lord, neither I nor my company took any hurt, but the Lord brought us in safety and health home again.

Because, both Mr. *Pelham* and your self do so heartily, and with such good affection send commendations and greetings unto our Indians which pray unto God, I will tell you what a good occasion was ministred unto me, through the goodnesse of God, by a question which one of them propounded the next meeting as I remember) after I had received my Letters, and I must first tell you the occasion of the question.

There had been at that time some strange Indians among them

which

which came to see them who prayed to God, as one from *Martins Vineyard*, who is helpful to Mr. *Mahu* to tell him words, &c. and I think some others, *when those strangers came*, and they perceived them to *affect Religion*, and had mutual conference about the same, there was very great *gladnesse of heart* among them, and they made these strangers exceeding welcome; Hereupon did the Question arise, namely what is the reason, that when a strange Indian comes among us whom we never saw before, *yet if he pray unto God, we do exceedingly love him: But if my own Brother, dwelling a great way off, come unto us, he not praying to God, though we love him, yet nothing so as We love that other stranger who doth pray unto God.*

This question did so clearly demonstrate that which the Scripture calleth *love of the Brethren*, that I thought it was useful; first, to try others of them, whether they found the same in their hearts; I therefore asked them, how they found it in theis hearts? And they answered, that they all found it so in their hearts, and that it had been a matter of discourse among themselves, *Wondring at it, What the reason of it should be*, which was no small comfort and encouragement unto my spirit; Then in my answer I asked them what should be the reason that the godly people in *England*, 3000. miles off, who never saw them, yet hearing that they pray to God, do exceedingly rejoyce at it, and love them, and send them tokens of their love, and then I reckoned up what had been sent them, and mentioned some names to them, and farther told them that their love was so great unto them, that they would send them over a great deale more; and in special, I hoped they would send us such materials as be requisite to make a Towne, and mentioned some such things as I have named in the Catalogue I sent to you, and asked them if they could tell the reason of it; they answered no; this being the same with their question; and then I shewed the unity of spirit, &c. And thus you see the occasion and way of communicating the good will and love of the Saints in *England*, unto them, so as that they might taste a spiritual blessing, and finde some edification of their souls by those outward blessings which they received. And whereas some, (as I am informed) who came from us to *England*, are no better friends to this work then they should, and may speak slightly of it: I do intreat that such may be asked but this question; Did they so much regard to look after it here, as to go three or four miles to some of

our

our meetings, and to obſerve what was ſaid and done there? if not, how can they tell how things be? if they ſay they were, I deſire to know what they except againſt? If they ſay the Indians be all nought becauſe ſuch as come loytering and filtching about in our Townes are ſo; Wiſh them to conſider how unequal that judgment is, if all the Engliſh ſhould be judged by the worſt of them; and any ſhould ſay they be all ſuch, this were to condemne the righteous with the wicked. Had I leaſure, I would inſert a few more of their queſtions, that you might perceive how fleſh and ſinewes begin to gather upon theſe dry bones; but I cannot at this time attend it; the preſent work of God among them is to gather them togegether to bring them to Political life, both in Eccleſiaſtical ſociety and in Civil, for which they earneſtly long and enquire, and ſome aged ones ſay, *Oh that God would let me live to ſee that day*; I allude to that in *Ezekiel*, not becauſe I have any light to perſwade me theſe are that people there mentioned, only they be dry and ſcattered bones, if any be in the world; and the work of God upon all ſuch dry bones I beleeve will be in many things *Symmetricall*; But the work of the day is to civilize them, and it will be very chargeable, and becauſe in your Letters to Mr. *Cotton*, you deſired that he and I ſhould ſpeak with theCommiſſioners what was fitting to ſend over for this work, we could not ſpeak with the Commiſſioners of other Colonies, nor write to have any ſeaſonable return, nor could we communicate the ſtate of the buſineſſe unto them, but what was feaſible we have done.

Now dear Sir, it may be you will deſire to know what kinde of Civil Government they ſhall be inſtructed in; I acknowledge it to be a very weighty conſideration; and I have adviſed with Mr. *Cotton* and others about it, and this I propound as my general rule through the help of the Lord; they ſhall be wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things both in Church and State; they ſhall have no other Law-giver; the Lord ſhall be their Law-giver, the Lord ſhall be their Judge, the Lord ſhall be their King, and he will ſave them; and when it is ſo the Lord reigneth, and unto that frame the Lord will bring all the world ere he hath done, but it will be more difficult in other Nations who have been adulterate with their *Antichriſtian* or humane wiſdome; they will be loth to lay downe their imperfect own Star-light of excellent Lawes, in their conceits, for the perfect Sun-light of the Scripture, which through blindneſſe they cannot ſee.

England

England long ſince had happy experience of it, and it is often in my heart to deſire they would pitch there in this preſent great change they are about; this is certaine, that all formes and Lawes of mans invention will ſhake, be unſetled; and many will doubt of ſubjecting to any way man can deviſe; and they will never reſt till they come up to the Scriptures, and when they produce Scripture grounds for all they do, it will anſwer and ſatisfie all godly conſciences, and awe the reſt, and ſtop their mouths unleſſe they will cavill againſt divine wiſdome. It is the very reaſon why the Lord in this houre of temptation will bring Nations into diſtreſſe and perplexity, that ſo they may be forced to the Scriptures; the light whereof hath ſole authority to extricate them out of their deep perplexities; and therefore all Governments are and will be ſhaken, that men may be forced to pitch upon the firme and unſhaken foundation, *the Word of God*, this is doubtleſſe the great deſigne of Chriſt in theſe later dayes; Oh that mens eyes were open to ſee it, and when the world is brought into this frame, then Chriſt reigneth; and when this is, Government ſhall be in the hands of the Saints of the moſt high.

But I forget my ſelf; this is not my preſent work, it is my deſire and prayer; my work is to endeavour the ſetting up Chriſt Kingdome among the Indians.

Sir, you tell me of one that will publiſh reaſons to prove (at leaſt) ſome of the ten Tribes are in *America*, it would be glad tydings to my heart; and when Mr. *Dudley* heard of it, he ſaid that Captaine *Cromwell*, who lately dyed at *Boſton* told him that he ſaw many Indians to the Southward Circumciſed, and that he was oft converſant among them, and ſaw it with his eyes, and was undoubtedly certaine of it; this is Captaine *Cromwels* teſtimony, and it ſeemeth to be one of the moſt probable arguments that ever I yet heard of; unleſſe the Lord ſhall pleaſe to clear it up that they are ſome of thoſe dry bones which *Ezekiel* ſpeaketh of.

Mr. *Mahew*, who putteth his hand unto this Plough at *Martins Vineyard*, being young, and a beginner here, hath extreme want of books; he needeth *Commentaries* and *Common Places* for the body of Divinity, that ſo he might be well grounded and principled; if therefore the Lord bring any meanes into your hand, I deſire you would (by the help of ſome godly Divine) ſend him over ſuch books as may be neceaſſry for a young Scholer; I will name no books, he needs all; I beſeech you put ſome weight upon it, for I deſire

he

he might be furniſhed in that kinde, and other ſupplies will be needful for him.

And for my ſelf I have this requeſt (who alſo am ſhort enough in books) that I might be helped to purchaſe my brother *Weld* his books, the ſumme of the purchaſe is (34. li.) I am loth they ſhould come back to *England* when we have ſo much need of them here, and without ready money there I cannot have them; if therefore ſo much money might be disburſed for me, it would be a bleſſing to me, but it is on condition that all his books here be comprehended, elſe I will not give ſo much for them.

One thing more I ſhall mention, *viz.* if the work go on, and you ſend us means, then this may be conſiderable, which ſome have adviſed me, whether it might not be good to ſend me over a Carpenter or two young men-ſervants; but if you ſhould approve it, I deſire they may be godly, and well conditioned, of a good ſpirit, for they muſt be imployed among the Indians, and if they ſhould be naught, and of an ill diſpoſition they might do a great deal of hurt, but if they be honeſt & meek and well ſpirited, it may be a great furtherance of the work, I wholly leave it to your wiſdom.

Having ſome leaſure by the Ships delay I will inſert a few queſtions which they have propounded. *viz.*

If a man know Gods Word, but beleeve it not; and he teach others, is that good teaching? and if others beleeve that which he teacheth, is that good beleeving, or faith? upon this queſtion I asked them, how they could tell when a man knoweth Gods Word that he doth not beleeve it? They anſwered me, *When he doth not do in his practice anſwerable to that which he knoweth.*

If I teach on the Sabbath that which you have taught us, and forget ſome, Is that a ſin? and ſome I miſtake and teach wrong, Is that a ſin?

Do all evill thoughts come from the Devill, and all good ones from God?

What is watchfulneſſe?

How ſhall I finde happineſſe?

What ſhould I pray for at night, and what at morning, and what on the Sabbath day?

What is true Repentance, or how ſhall I know when this is true?

How muſt I wait on God?

Shall we see Christ at the day of Judgment?

Can we see God?

When I pray for a soft heart, why is it still hard?

Can one be saved by reading the book of the creature? This question was made when I taught them, That God gave us two books, and that in the book of the creature, every creature was a word or sentence, &c.

You said God promised Moses *to go with him, how doth he go with us?*

When such die as never heard of Christ, whether do they go?

When the wicked die, do they first go to heaven to the judgment seate of Christ to be judged, and then go away to hell?

What is the meaning of the word Hebrews?

Why doth God say, I am the God of the Hebrews?

When Christ arose, whence came his soul? When I answered from heaven; It was replyed, *How then was Christ punished in our stead? Or when did he suffer in our stead, afore death, or after?*

When I pray every day, why is my heart so hard still, even at a stone?

How doth God arise, and we worship at his feet, what meaneth it? This was when I preached out of *Psal.* 132.

Why did they eate the Passeover, with loynes girt, and shooes on their feet?

What meaneth, arise O Lord into thy resting place?

What meaneth, hunger and thirst after righteousnesse, and they blessed?

What meaneth, thou shalt not covet any thing that is thy neighbours?

If one purposeth to pray, and yet dieth before that time, whether goeth his soul?

If I teach on the Sabbath something that some other Englishman taught me, the Indians do not like it, if it be not that which you have taught, is this well?

Why must we be like Salt?

If I do not love wicked men, nor good men, am I good?

What meaneth that, love enemies and wicked men?

Doth God know who shall repent, and beleeve, and who not? When I answered in the affirmative, then it was replyed, *Why then did God use so much meanes with* Pharaoh?

What meaneth that his wife shall be like a Vine, and his children like young plants?

What

What meaneth, that bleſſed are they that mourn?

When I ſee a good example, and know that it is right, why do I not do the ſame?

What meaneth lifting up hands to God?

Whot anger is good, and what is bad?

Do they dwell in ſeverall houſes in heaven, or altogether, and what do they?

How do you know what is done in heaven?

If a child die before he ſinne, whether goeth his ſoul? By this queſtion, it did pleaſe the Lord, clearly to convince them of original ſin, bleſſed be his name.

If one that prayes to God, ſins like him that prayes not, is not he worſe? And while they diſcourſed of this point, and about hating of wicked perſons, one of them ſhut it up with this, *They muſt love the man and do him good, but hate his ſin.*

Why do Engliſh men ſo eagerly kill all ſnakes?

May a man have good words and deeds and a bad heart, and another have bad words and deeds, and yet a good heart?

What is it to eate Chriſt his fleſh and drink his blood, what meaneth it?

What meaneth a new heaven and a new earth?

Much honoured and reſpected in the Lord Jeſus.

YOur faithful and unwearied paines about the Lords work for the good of his dear children here, and for the furtherance of the Kingdome of Chriſt among theſe poor Indians, ſhall doubtleſſe be had in remembrance before the Lord, not through merit, but mercie.

By former Letters ſent by Mr. *Saltonſtall*; I informed you of the preſent ſtate of the Indian work, and though I might adde farther matters, yet I ſhal forbear, only this, ſtill they continue conſtant, and earneſtly deſire to ſet upon the way of cohabitation & prepare for their enjoyment of that great bleſſing to gather a Church of Chriſt among them; and ſince the writing of my laſt a *Nipnet Sachem* hath ſubmitted himſelf to pray unto the Lord, and much deſireth

one of our chief ones to live with him and teach him and those that are with him.

You wrote (I thank you) much encouraging to lose no time, and follow the work, though I borrow materials, but I durst not do so, the work is great, as I informed you in my former Letters; and I fear, lest it should discourage you, nor would I be too hasty to run before the Lord do clearly (by Scripture rules) say go; nor on the other side would I hold them too long in suspence, there may be weakness that way to their discouragement, but it is the Lords work, and he is infinite in wisdome, and he will suit the work in such a time and place as shall best attain his appointed ends and his great glory.

Touching the way of their Government, I also intimated the purpose of my heart, that I intend to direct them according as the Lord shall please to help and assist to set up the Kingdome of Jesus Christ fully, so that Christ shall reigne both in Church and Common-wealth, both in Civil and Spiritual matters; we will (through his grace) fly to the Scriptures, for every Law, Rule, Direction, Form, or what ever we do. And when every thing both Civil & Spiritual are done by the direction of the word of Christ, then doth Christ reigne, and the great Kingdome of Jesus Christ which we weight for, is even this that I do now mention; and by this means all Kingdomes and Nations shall become the Kingdomes of Christ, because he shall rule them in all things by his holy word; humane wisdome in learned Nations will be loth to yeeld to Christ so farre, much lesse will Princes and Monarches readily yeeld so farre to stoop to Christ, and therefore the Lord will shake all Nations, and put them into distresse and perplexity, and in the conclusion they will be glad to stoop to Christ. But as for these poore Indians they have no principles of their own, nor yet wisdome of their their own (I meane as other Nations have) wherein to stick; and therefore they do most readily yeeld to any direction from the Lord, so that there will be no such opposition against the rising Kingdome of Jesus Christ among them; yet I foresee a cloud of difficulties in the work, and much obscurity and trouble in some such respects, as I think not meet to mention, only by faith I do see through this cloud: I beleeve the faithful promises of Christ shall be accomplisht among them, and the Lord Jesus shall reigne over them gloriously, *Oh my heart yearneth over distressed perplexed England*, and my continual prayer unto the Lord for them is, that he would be pleased to open their hearts and eyes, and let them see

their

their opportunity to let in Christ, and to advance his Kingdome over them; yea, my hope is, that he will not leave tampering with them untill he hath brought it to passe; Oh the blessed day in *England* when the Word of God shall be their *Magna Charta* and chief Law Book; and when all Lawyers must be Divines to study the Scriptures; and should the Gentile Nations take up *Moses* policie so farre as it is morall and conscionable, make the Scriptures the foundation of all their Lawes, who knoweth what a door would be opened to the Jewes to come in to Christ; I wrote likewise by my last to intreat for some encouragement to Master *Mahu* who preacheth to the Indians, and that some monies may be laid out in books for him; for young Scholars in *New-England* are very poor in books, as he is in extreme want.

Dear Sir,

Be helpful in prayer to our work, and above all gatherings, gather prayers; I mean, put the Saints in minde that they pray much about it, as they do both there and here.

Truly Sir,

The spirit of prayer that is daily going about this matter, is a very great encouragement for all our meetings, through mercie, ring of it; I would intimate some more questions which they have propounded since my last, for they are fruitful that way, but partly I fear I shall want time, yet my heart saies, it may comfort you, and therefore I will set down a few, so many as I have noted down since my last.

If but one parent beleeve, what state are our children in?

How doth much sinne make grace abound? I having made use of that Text.

If so old a man as I repent, may I be saved? The wisdome of God drew forth this question next to interpret the former.

When We come to beleeve, how many of our children doth God take with us, whether all only young ones, or at What age?

What meaneth that, Let the trees of the Wood rejoyce?

What meaneth that, That the Master doth not thank his servant for waiting on him?

What meaneth that, We cannot serve two masters?

Can they in Heaven see us here on Earth?

Do they see and know each other? Shall I know you in heaven?

Do they know each other in Hell?

When English-men choose Magistrates and Ministers, how do they know

know who be good men, that they dare trust?

Seeing the body sinneth, why should the soule be punished, and what punishment shall the body have?

If all the world be burnt up, where shall hell be?

What is it to beleeve in Christ?

What meaneth, that Christ meriteth eternal life for us?

What meaneth that, Covet not thy neighbours house, &c?

What meaneth that, The woman brought to Christ a box of Oyle, and washt his feet with tears, &c?

What meaneth that of the two debtors, one oweth much, another but little?

If a Wicked man prayeth, and teacheth, doth God accept, or What saies God?

At what age may maids marry?

If a man be wise, and his Sachem *weak must he yet obey him?*

We are commanded to honour the Sachem, *but is the* Sachem *commanded to lovve us?*

When all the world shall be burnt up, What shall be in the roome of it; an old womans question yester day?

What meaneth God, when he sayes, yee shall be my Jewels? This was asked from my text last time, *Exod.* 19.5. for so I rendred the word peculiar treasure.

You may perceive many of the questions arise out of such texts as I handle, and I do endeavour to communicate as much Scripture as I can; *The word of the Lord converteth, sanctifieth and maketh wise the simple*; sometimes they aske weaker questions then these, which I mention not, you have the best; and when I am about writing, I am more careful in keeping a remembrance of them; it may be the same question may be again and again asked at several places, and by several persons; The Lord teach them to know Christ, *whom to know is eternal life*; I shall intreat your supplications at the throne of grace, under the tender wing whereof I leave you, being forced by the time, and rest

Roxbury this 29. of the 10th 49.

Your respectful and loving brother and fellow-labourer in the Indian work.

JOHN ELIOT.

Much

Much honoured and beloved in Christ, &c.

I Heard of the health and welfare of your family not long since, though the sharpnesse and depth of snowes this later part of winter did more shut up and hinder intercourse then ever I knew in *New-England*

I shall principally attend to give you intelligence about the Indians, touching whom, I know not that you are like to have intelligence by others; The Lord hath shewed them a very great testimony of his mercy this winter, in that when formerly the English had the Pox much, they also had the same; but now though it was scattered in all or most of the Townes about them, yet the Lord hath preserved them from it; And that which maketh this favour of God the more evident and conspicuous, is this; That there is a company of profane Indians that lately are come to a place near *Wamouth*, not farre from our Indians, who do not onely refuse to pray unto God, but oppose and apprehend that they were sent thither, if not by the policie of some *Pawwaws*, yet by the instigation of Sathan, on purpose to seduce the younger sort from their profession, and discourage others; and indeed they being so neer, had that effect evidently in some of the younger sort. Now it pleased God that this company of wicked Indians, were smitten with the Pox, and sundry cut off, and those which were cut off, were of the worst and mischievous of them all; which Providences, all the good Indians do take a great notice of, and doth say that the Lord hath wrought a wonder for them; and it seemeth to me that the Lord hath blest this good Providence of his to be a strong ingagement of their hearts to the Lord.

The work of the Lord through his grace doth still go on as formerly, and they are still full of questions, and mostly they now be, to know the meaning of such Scriptures as I have translated and read, and in a poor measure expounded to them, they long for to proceed in that work which I have in former Letters mentioned; namely to cohabit in a Towne, to be under the government of the Lord, and to have a Church and the Ordinances of Christ among them; this Spring the Lord seemed to put some of them upon such streights, about a convenient place of planting, as if his Providence had meant to call us to a present setting upon the work, but partly by reason of the undetermination about the place

where,

where, but principally for want of means, wherewith it is yet deferred, though I see a necessity to speed it forward, for they have been now long in the expectation, and if I should still fail them, it would both discourage them, and embolden their adversaries to despise the work(for all theCountry of Indians are in an expectation of it) yea by this delay that hath been, Sathan hath taken this advantage to my great grief; That whereas at my first preaching at *Nashawog* sundry did imbrace the word, and called upon God, and *Pau wauing* was wholly silenced among them all; yet now, partly being forty miles of; and principally by the slow progresse of this work, Sathan hath so embolned the Pawwawes, that this winter, (as I hear to my grief) there hath been Paw-wauing again with some of them.

The reason why there is still a delay of laying the foundation of the work is this, because we must see first whether any supply is like to be had from *England* (for our sins and bad times may disappoint our greatest hopes)and if any,what measure,that we may by that be guided what foundation and beginning to make; their condition and the necessary frame of this work requireth a liberall stock to begin withall, and liberall supply to carry it on; And therefore to begin the work before the Lord hath discovered his providing providence this way, by the rule of prudence may not be; nor can I manifest unto the Church that God doth call me to that work, untill I may lay before them, (at least some) present means to begin the work, and some probable hopes of supply; and untill that be done, the Church hath no rule to give me up to that work; nor I a rule to require it; only I do (through the Lords help) continually go on to teach them, as for these three yeers and a half I have done, instructing them,and preparing them as well as I can against such time as the Lord, who hath promised to guide us by his eye and voyce, shall manifestly call us to go forward with that work which we wait to see accomplished.

I forbear to mention any thing about the materials requisite, and manner of proceedings,having done that in my former Letters, by the first ship especially, and also by the second; both which Vessels I trust the Lord hath brought in safe to you long ere this time. I was in great hopes to have heard some encouragement by fishing ships, but not one being this yeere come, nor tydings any other way, we are put to sad thoughts how it may fare with *England*, but we cease not to pray continually in that behalf, and

this

this expectation of mine is one ingagement of my heart to be the more earneſt both for *England* and for your ſelf alſo.

Roxbury this 18. *of the* 2d 1650.

Your loving friend and brother in our Lord Jeſus

JOHN ELIOT.

Much reſpected and beloved in our Lord Jeſus.

GOd is greatly to be adored in all his Providences, and hath evermore wiſe and holy ends to accompliſh that which we are not aware of ; and therefore although he may ſeem to croſſe our ends with diſappointments after all our pains and expectations, yet he hath farther and better thoughts then we can reach unto, which will cauſe us to admire his love and wiſdome, when we ſee them accompliſhed; and yet he is gracious to accept of our ſincere labours for his name, though he diſappoint them in our way, and fruſtrate our expectations in our time; yea, he will fulfill our expectations in his way, and in his time, which ſhall finally appeare to the eye of faith, a better way then ours, and a fitter time then ours; his wiſdome is infinite.

For the work of the Lord among the Indians, I thank his Majeſty he ſtill ſmileth on it, he favoureth and bleſſeth it, through his help that ſtrengthneth me, I ceaſe not in my poor meaſure to inſtruct them; and I do ſee that they profit and grow in knowledge of the truth, and ſome of them in the love of it, which appeareth by a ready obedience to it; and to teſtifie their growth in knowledge, I will not (though I could do it if need were) trouble you with their queſtions, but I will only relate one ſtory which fell out about the fifth month of this yeere; Two of my hearers travelled to *Providence* and *Warwick*, where *Gorton* liveth, and there they ſpent a Sabbath, and heard them in ſome exerciſes, and had much conference with them; for it ſeemeth they perceiving that they had ſome knowledge in Religion, and were of my hearers; they endeavour to poſſeſſe their minds with their opinions. When they came home, the next Lecture day, before I began the exerciſe, the company being not fully come together, one of them asked me

this queſtion; *What is the reaſon, that ſeeing thoſe Engliſh people, where he had been, had the ſame Bible that we have, yet do not ſpeake the ſame things?* I asked the reaſon of his queſtion; he ſaid, *becauſe his brother and he had been at* Providence *and at* Warwick, *and he perceived by ſpeech with them, that they differ from us; he ſaid they heard their publike exerciſe, but did not underſtand what they meant,* (though the man underſtandeth the EngliſhLanguage pretty well) But afterwards ſaid he, *We had much ſpeech*; I asked him in what points; and ſo much as his brother and he could call to minde, he related as followeth.

Firſt, ſaid he, *they ſaid thus, they teach you that there is a Heaven and a Hell, but there is no ſuch matter*; I asked him what reaſon they gave; *he anſwered, that he ſaid there is no other Heaven, then what is in the hearts of good men; nor no other Hell, then what is in the hearts of bad men*; Then I asked, and what ſaid you to that; ſaith he, *I told them, I did not beleeve them, becauſe Heaven is a place whether good men go after this life is ended; and Hell is a place whether bad men go when they die, and cannot be in the hearts of men*; I approved of this anſwer. I asked what elſe they ſpake? he anſwered, *they ſpake of Baptiſm*, and ſaid, *that they teach you that Infants muſt be baptized, but that is a very fooliſh thing*; I asked him what reaſon they gave? He ſaid, *becauſe Infants neither know God nor Baptiſme, nor what they do, and therefore it is a fooliſh thing to do it*; I asked him what he ſaid to that? He ſaid, *he could not ſay much, but he thought it was better to baptize them while they be young, and then they are bound and engaged; but if you let them alone till they be grown up, it may be they will flie off, and neither care for God nor for Baptiſme*; I approved of this anſwer alſo, and asked what elſe they ſpake of? He ſaid farther, *they ſhake of Miniſters*, and ſaid, *they teach you that you muſt have Miniſters, but that is a needleſſe thing.* I asked what reaſon they gave? He ſaid, *they gave theſe reaſons*, Firſt, *Miniſters know nothing but what they learn out of Gods book, and we have Gods book as well as they, and can tell wha God ſaith.* Again, *Miniſters cannot change mens hearts, God muſt do that, and therefore there is no need of Miniſters.* I asked him what he ſaid to that? He ſaid, *that he told them, that we muſt do as God commands us, and if he commands to have Miniſters, we muſt have them. And farther I told them, I thought it was true, that Miniſters cannot change mens hearts; but when we do as God bids us, and hear Miniſters preach, then God will change our hearts.* I approved this anſwer alſo.

I asked

I asked what elſe they ſpake of? He ſaid, *They teach you that you muſt have Magiſtrates, but that is needleſſe, nor ought to be.* I asked what reaſon they gave? He ſaid, *That they gave this reaſon, becauſe Magiſtrates cannot give life, therefore they may not take away life; beſides, when a man ſinneth, he doth not ſinne againſt Magiſtrates, and therefore why ſhould they puniſh them? but they ſinne againſt God and therefore we muſt leave them to God to puniſh them.* I asked him what he ſaid to that, he anſwered, *I ſaid to that as to the former, we muſt do as God commands us; If God command us to have Magiſtrates, and commands them to puniſh ſinners, them we muſt obey.* I approved this alſo.

I asked farther what they ſaid; then both of them conſidered a while, and ſaid, *they could remember no more*, only they ſaid ſomewhat of the Parliament of *England*, which they did not underſtand. And by ſuch time as we had done this conference, the company was gathered together, and we went to Prayer, and I did ſolemnly bleſſe God who had given them ſo much underſtanding in his truth, and ſome ability to diſcerne between Truth and Error, and an heart to ſtand for the Truth, and againſt Error; and I cannot but take it as a Divine Teſtimony of Gods bleſſing upon my poor labours; I afterwards gave him an anſwer to his firſt queſtion, *viz. Why they having the ſame Bible with us, yet ſpake not the ſame things?* And I anſwered him by that Text, 2 *Theſ.* 2. 10, 11. *Becauſe they received not the love of the truth that they might be ſaved, for this cauſe God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould beleeve a lye.* This text I opened unto them; I will adde no more at preſent to manifeſt their proficiency in knowledge.

The preſent work of the Lord that is to be done among them, is to gather them together from their ſcattered kinde of life; Firſt, unto Civil Society, then to Eccleſiaſtical, and both by the Divine direction of the Word of the Lord; they are ſtill earneſtly deſirous of it; and this Spring that is paſt, they were very importunately deſirous to have been upon that work, and to have planted corne in the place intended; but I did diſſwade, and was forced to uſe this reaſon of delay, becauſe I hoped for tools, and meanes from *England*, whereby to proſecute the work this Summer. But when ſhips came, and no ſupply, you may eaſily think what a damping it was; and truly my heart ſmote me, that I had looked too much at man and meanes, in ſtoping their earneſt affections

with that barre which proved a Blank. I began without any such respect, and I thought that the Lord would have me so to go on, and only look to him for help, whose work it is; and when I had thus looked up to the Lord, I advised with our Elders and some other of our Church, whose hearts consented with me; then I advised with divers of the Elders at *Boston* Lecture, and Mr. *Cottons* answer was, *my heart sayeth, go on, and look to the Lord onely for help*, the rest also concuring; So I commended it to our Church, and we sought God in a day of fasting and prayer about it, (together with other causes) and have been ever since a doing, according to our abilities; and this I account a favour of God, that that very night, before we came from our place of meeting, we had notice of a Ship from *England*, whereby I received Letters, and some encouragement in the work from private friends; a mercy which God had in store, but unknown to some, and so contrived by the Lord, that I should receive it as a fruit of prayer.

The place also is of Gods providing, as a fruit of prayer; for when I, with some that went with me, had rode to a place of some hopefull expectation, when we came to it, it was in no wise sutable; I went behind a Rock, and looked to the Lord, and committed the matter to him; and while I was travelling in Woods, Christian friends were in prayer at home; and so it was, that though one of our company fell sick in the Woods, so that we were forced home with speed; yet in the way home, the Indians in our company, upon enquiry describing a place to me, and guiding us over some part of it, the Lord did both by his providence then, and by after more diligent search of the place, discover that there it was his pleasure we should begin this work. When grasse was fit to cut, I sent some Indians to mow, and others to make some hay at the place, because we must oft ride thither in the Autumn when grasse is withered and dead, and especially in the Spring before any grasse is come, and there is provision for our horses; this work was performd well, as I found when I went up to them with my man to order it. We must also of necessity have an house to lodge in, meet in, and lay up our provisions and clothes, which cannot be in *Wigwams*. I set them therefore to fell and square timber for an house, and when it was ready, I went, and many of them with me, and on their shoulders carried all the timber together, &c. These things they chearfully do; but this also I do, I pay them wages carefully for all such works I set them about, which is a good encouragement

ment to labour. I purpoſe, God willing, to call them together this Autumne to break and prepare their own ground againſt the Spring, and for other neceſſary works, which are not afew, in ſuch an enterprize. There is a great river which divideth between their planting grounds and dwelling place, through which, though they eaſily wade in Summer, yet in the Spring its deep, and unfit for daily paſſing over, eſpecially of women and children; therefore I thought it neceſſary, that this Autumne we ſhould make a foot Bridge over, againſt ſuch time in the Spring as they ſhall have daily uſe of it; I told them my purpoſe and reaſon of it, wiſhed them to go with me to do that work, which they chearfully did, and with their own hands did build a Bridge eighty foot long, and nine foot high in the midſt, that it might ſtand above the floods; when we had done, I cald them together, prayed, and gave thanks to God, and taught them out of a portion of Scripture, and at parting I told them, I was glad of their readineſſe to labour, when I adviſed them thereunto; and in as much as it hath been hard and tedious labour in the water, if any of them deſired wages for their work, I would give it them; yet being it is for their owne uſe, if they ſhould do all this labour in love, I ſhould take it well, and as I may have occaſion, remember it; they anſwered me, they were farre from deſiring any wages when they do their own work; but on the other ſide they were thankful to me that I had called them, and counſelled them in a work ſo needful for them, whereto I replyed, I was very glad to ſee them ſo ingenuous.

This buſineſſe of praying to God (for that is their general name of Religion) hath hitherto found oppoſition only from the *Pawwawes* and profane ſpirits; but now the Lord hath exerciſed us with another and a greater oppoſition; for the *Sachems* of the Country are generally ſet againſt us, and counter-work the Lord by keeping off their men from praying to God as much as they can; And the reaſon of it is this, They plainly ſee that Religion will make a great change among them, and cut them off from their former tyranny; for they uſed to hold their people in an abſolute ſervitude, inſomuch as what ever they had, and themſelves too were at his command; his language was, as one ſaid (*omne meum*;) now they ſee that Religion teaches otherwiſe, and puts a bridle upon ſuch uſurpations; Beſides their former manner was, that if they wanted money, or if they deſired any thing from a man, they would take occaſion to rage and be in a great anger; which when they

did

did perceive, they would give him all they had to pacifie him; for elſe their way was to ſuborne ſome villain (of which they have no lack) to finde ſome opportunity to kill him; *This keeps them in great awe of their Sachems*, and is one reaſon why none of them deſire any wealth, only from hand to mouth, becauſe they are but ſervants, and they get it not for themſelves; But now if their *Sachem* ſo rage, and give ſharp and cruell language, inſtead of ſeeking his favour with gifts (as formerly) they will admoniſh him of his ſinne; tell him that is not the right way to get money; but he muſt labour, and then he may have money, that is Gods command, &c. And as for Tribute, ſome they are willing to pay, but not as formerly. Now theſe are great temptations to the *Sachems*, and they had need of a good meaſure both of wiſdome and grace to ſwallow this Pill, and it hath ſet them quite off; And I ſuppoſe that hence it is, that (I having requeſted the Court of Commiſſioners for a ger eral way to be thought of to inſtruct all the Indians in all parts, and I told the Indians that I did ſo, which they would ſoon ſpread; and ſtill in my prayers, I pray for the *Monohegens, Narraganſets, &c.*) the *Monohegen* Indians were much troubled leſt the Court of Commiſſioners ſhould take ſome courſe to teach them to pray to God; and *Unkus* their *Sachem* went to *Hartford* this Court (for there they ſate) and expreſſed to Elder *Goodwin* his feare of ſuch a thing, and manifeſted a great unwillingneſſe thereunto; this one of our Commiſſioners told me at his coming home.

This temptation hath much troubled *Cutſhamoquin* our *Sachem*, and he was raiſed in his ſpirit to ſuch an height, that at a meeting after Lecture, he openly conteſted with me againſt our proceeding to make a Town; and plainly told me that all the *Sachems* in the Countrey were againſt it, &c. When he did ſo carry himſelf, all the Indians were filled with fear, their countenances grew pale, and moſt of them ſlunk away, a few ſtayed, and I was alone, not any Engliſh man with me; But it pleaſed God (for it was his guidance of me, and aſſiſtance) to raiſe up my ſpirit, not to paſſion, but to a bold reſolution, telling him it was Gods work I was about, and he was with me, and I feared not him, nor all the *Sachems* in the Country, and I was reſolved to go on do what they can, and they nor he ſhould hinder that which I had begun, &c. And it pleaſed God that his ſpirit ſhrunk and fell before me, which when thoſe Indians that tarried ſaw, they ſmiled as they durſt, out of his

ſight,

fight, and have been much ſtrengthned ever ſince; and ſince I underſtand that in ſuch conflicts their manner is, that they account him that ſhrinks to be conquered, and the other to conquer; which alas I knew not, nor did I aime at ſuch a matter, but the Lord carried me beyond my thoughts and wont; after this brunt was over, I took my leave to go home, and *Cutſhamoquin* went a little way with me, and told me that the reaſon of this trouble was, becauſe the Indians that pray to God, ſince they have ſo done, do not pay him tribute as formerly they have done; I anſwered him that once before when I heard of his complaint that way, I preached on that text, *Give unto Cæſar what is Cæſars, and unto God what is Gods*; and alſo on *Rom.* 13. naming him the matter of the texts (not the places of which he is ignorant) But he ſaid its true, I taught them well, but they would not in that point do as I taught them; And further he ſaid, this thing are all the *Sachems* ſenſible of, and therefore ſet themſelves againſt praying to God; and then I was troubled, leſt (if they ſhould be ſinfully unjuſt) they ſhould both hinder and blemiſh the Goſpel and Religion; I did therefore conſult with the Magiſtrates and Mr. *Cotton* and other Elders; Mr. *Cottons* text by Gods providence, the next Lecture gave him occaſion to ſpeak to it, which I fore-knowing adviſed ſome that underſtood Engliſh beſt, to be there; and partly by what they heard, and by what I had preached to the like purpoſe, and told them what Mr. *Cotton* ſaid, &c. they were troubled, and fell to reckon up what they had done in two yeers paſt, a few of them that lived at one of the places I preached unto; I took down the particulars in writing, as followeth. At one time they gave him twenty buſhels of corne, at another time more then ſixe buſhels; two hunting dayes they killed him fifteen Deeres; they brake up for him two Acres of Land, they made for him a great houſe or Wigwam, they made twenty rod of fence for him, with a Ditch and two Railes about it, they paid a debt for him of 3. li. 10. s. only ſome others were contributors in this money; one of them gave him a skin of Beaver of two pound, at his returne from building, beſides many dayes works in planting corne altogether, and ſome ſeverally; yea they ſaid they would willingly do more if they would govern well by juſtice, and as the word of God taught them; when I heard all this, I wondred, for this cometh to neere 30. li. and was done by a few, and they thought it not much if he had carried matters better; and yet his complaint was, they do nothing;

thing; But the bottome of it lieth here, he formerly had all or what he would; now he hath but what they will; and admonitions also to rule better, and he is provoked by other *Sachems*, and ill counsel, not to suffer this, and yet doth not know how to help it; hence arise histentations, in which I do very much pity him. Having all this information what they had done, and how causeleſſe his complaint and discontent was, I thought it a difficult thing to ease his spirit, and yet clear and justifie the people, which I was to endeavour the next day of our meeting after the former contestations, therefore I was willing to get some body with me; And by Gods providence, Elder *Heath* went with me, and when we came there, we found him very full of discontent, sighing, sower looks, &c. but we took no notice of it,

I preached that day out of the fourth of *Matthew*, the temptations of Christ; and when I came at that temptation, of the Devils showing Christ the kingdomes and glories of the world, thereby to tempt him from the service of God, to the service of the Devill; I did apply it wholly to his case, shewing him the Devill was now tempting him, as he tempted Christ; and Sathan sheweth him all the delights and dignities, and gifts and greatneſſe that he was wont to have in their sinfull way; Satan also tels him he shall lose them all if he pray to God, but if he will give over praying to God he shall have them all again; then I shewed him how Christ rejected that temptation, and exhorted him to reject it also, for either he must reject the temptation, or else he will reject praying to God; if he should reject praying to God, God would reject him.

After our exercise was ended, we had conference of the matter, and we gave him the best counsel we could (as the Lord was pleased to assist) and when we had done, Elder *Heath* his observation of him was, that there was a great change in him, his spirit was very much lightned, and it much appeared both in his countenance and carriage, and he hath carried all things fairly ever since.

But the temptation still doth work strongly, in the Countrey the *Sachems* opposing any that desire to submit themselves to the service of the Lord, as appeareth sundry wayes; some that began to listen, are gone quite back; I meane *Sachems* and some people that have a mind to it, are kept back; this last Lecture day one came in and submitted himself to call on God, and said he had been kept back this half yeer by opposition, but now at last the Lord hath helped and emboldned him to break through all opposition.

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Thus Sathan seeketh to beat off these poore creatures from seeking after the Lord by opposing the highest powers they have against the Lord and this work of his, knowing that the light of the Gospel and kingdome of Jesus Christ (if it once get footing) will scatter and dissipate that darkenesse whereby his kingdome is maintained; But I beleeve verily that the Lord will bring great good out of all these oppositions, nay I see it already, (though I see not all, I beleeve more then I can see; you who can know the thoughts of Gods love to his people, it is yet a secret) but this I see, that by this opposition the wicked are kept off from us, and from thrusting themselves into our society, at least sundry are, who else might croud in among us and trouble us; besides it is become some tryall now, to come into our company and call upon God; for besides the forsaking of their *Pau-waus*, (which was the first triall) and their old barbarous fashions and liberty to all sinne, and some of their friends and kindred, &c. Now this is added, they incurre the displeasure of their *Sachems*, all which put together, it cannot but appear there is some work of God upon their hearts, which doth carry them through all these snares, and adde to this, that if upon some competent time of experience, we shall finde them to grow in knowledge of the principles of Religion, and to love the wayes of the Lord the better, according as they come to understand them, and to yeeld obedience to them, and submit to this great change, to bridle lust by lawes of chastity, and to mortifie idlenesse by labour, and desire to traine up their children accordingly; I say if we shall see these things in some measure in them, what should hinder charity from hoping that there is grace in their hearts, a spark kindled by the Word and Spirit of God that shall never be quenched; and were these in a fixed cohabitation, who could gain-say their gathering together into a holy Church-Covenant and election of Officers? and who can forbid that they should be baptized? And I am perswaded that there be sundry such among them, whom the Lord will vouchsafe so far to favour and shine upon, that they shall become a Church, and a Spouse of Jesus Christ, and among whom the pure and holy Kingdome of Christ shall arise, and over whom Christ shall reigne, ruling them in all things by his holy word.

But though this trouble and oppsition is turned (and shall be more) unto a spiritual gaine, yet it behoveth us not to be secure, and regardlesse of our safety; for if the Adversary should discerne

us naked and weak, and see an opportunity, who knoweth what their rage and Sathans malice may stirre them up unto to work us a mischief? Nay, it is our duty to be vigilant, and fortifie our selves the best we can, thereby to put the enemy out of hope to hurt us, and to prevent them from attempting any evill against us, if it be the will of God; and to that end we purpose (if the Lord will) to make a strong Palizado (wanting means of doing better) and if we cannot get any Guns, Powder, Shot, Swords, &c. we will make us Slings, Bowes, and other Engines, the best the Lord will please to direct us for our safety; and when we have used the best meanes we can, I hope the Lord will help us to trust in his great name, to make that our strong Tower to flie unto.

I see the Lord delighteth to appear himself in the work, and will have us content our selves with little, low, poor things, that all the power and praise may be given to his great name; Our work in civilizing them will go on the more slowly for want of tools; for though I have bought a few for them, we can do but little, for alas a few will set but a few on work, and they be very dear too; had I store of hoes this Autumne either to lend them or sell them at moderate prizes, we should prepare (by Gods blessing) good store of ground for corne against next yeere; and had I wherewith to buy corne to carry up to the place, and have it in a readinesse to supply them, that so they might tarry at their work, and not be shut off through necessity to go get food, that also would be a great furtherance; and had we but means to maintaine a discreet diligent man to work with them, and guide them in work, that also would much further the work; and many such things I could propound as very requisite unto the work, but I lay my hand upon my mouth, I will say no more, I have left it with the Lord, who hath hitherto appeared, and he will appear for his own eternal praise in shining upon the day of our small things in his due season.

The blessing of God upon this work doth comfortably, hopefuly, & successefuly, appear in the labours of my brother *Mahu* at *Martins Vineyard*, insomuch that I hope they also will be after awhile ripe for this work of Civility and Cohabitation, if once they see a successeful pattern of it, and I doubt not but they will (as these do) ere long, desire Church-fellowship, and the Ordinances of Gods worship; the cloud increaseth, and the Lord seemeth to be coming in among them, they are very desirous to have their children taught, which is one argument that they truly love the knowledge of God;

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as on the contrary, it is a great ground of doubt of the truth of grace in that mans heart, when he hath not an heart to take care to traine up his children in the truth and in the practiſe of all godlineſſe, but this care is in them, and it is pity it ſhould not be furthered by all meanes; I have intreated a woman living neer where they dwell, to do that office for their children, and I pay her for it; but when they go to their plantation, we ſhall be in a ſtreight for help that way; the Indians ſo well like the parties who performeth that ſervice, that they intreat them to go with them, which I look at as a finger of God; they are I hope a godly couple, and might be a bleſſing to them, had we meanes to encourage them unto ſo difficult an enterprize, for it is a great matter to go and live among ſuch a people; but in that caſe alſo, I look up to the Lord, and leave it with his holy care and wiſdome; and if the Lord move any hearts to help in this work, I deſire that the care of their ſchooling may be among the chiefeſt cares.

If the Lord pleaſe to proſper our poor beginnings, my purpoſe is, (ſo for as the Lord ſhal enable me to give attendance unto the work) to have ſchoole exerciſes for all the men by daily inſtructing of them to read and write, &c. Yea if the Lord affords us fit inſtruments, my deſire is, that all the women may be taught to read; I know the matter will be difficult every way, for Engliſh people can only teach them to read Engliſh; and for their own Language we have no book; my deſire therefore is to teach them all to write, and read written hand, and thereby with pains taking, they may have ſome of the Scriptures in their own Language; I have one already who can write, ſo that I can read his writing well, and he (with ſome paines and teaching) can read mine; I hope the Lord will both inlarge his underſtanding, and others alſo to do as he doth; and if once I had ſome of themſelves able to ſpell aright, write and read, it might further the work exceedingly, and will be the ſpeedieſt way.

Sir, When I had gone thus farre in my Letters, by a Ship that came in, you wrote unto our Governour touching the two Libraries, my brother *Welds* and Mr. *Jenners*, and of the willingneſſe of the Corporation to diſcharge for them, for which cauſe I do humbly thank the Worſhipful Corporation, all the Chriſtian and much reſpected Gentlemen my loving friends. And Sir, I thank you for all your faithful pains in this work, and the more I am obliged thereunto, becauſe herein I am like to partake of the fruit of your la-

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bours, the Lord Jesus give you a full reward.

Whereas you require the Catalogue of both Libraries, it shall be done (if God will) but I am to go into the Countrey to the Indians now, and have much businesse, therefore know not whether I can do it by this Ship, if I can I will.

This last Court of Commissioners sate at *Hartford Conecticot*, so that I could not speak with them, but this course I took by our Governours advice; our General Court gave him, with some other, power to give instructions to our Commissioners; therefore all my requests I did write unto him, and he gave them in his Instructions to our Commissioners, so they went strong.

Sir,

I have done at present, Mr. *Whitfeld* will informe you farther in any particulars if need be: The Lord of heaven blesse and assist you in all your wayes, and I beg your prayers for me still, and so rest

Roxbury this 21 of the 8th. 50

Yours in our Lord Jesus.

JOHN ELIOT.

The Conclusion.

Vide Ainsw. *in loc.*

AND now (loving Reader) having brought thee along through these Divine dispensations of Gods merciful dealing with the Indians, I shall briefly acquaint thee with the workings of my own thoughts under the apprehension of these things.

First, I see plainly the fulfilling of that Divine truth and promise spoken of by David, *Psal.* 138. 2. Thou hast magnified thy Word above all thy Name, *i. e. The Word in the Gospel brought and preached to men. The Lord hath made this Word the only outward instrumental means to bring home these wandring sinners; to this Word they have attended from the first; from this they have received their light; unto this they have given up themselves; without this they will not stirre; from this they will not depart; from hence they have their peace, and have seen good dayes under the Kingdome of our Lord Christ.*

Secondly, the Lord hath now declared one great end he had of send-

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ing many of his people to those ends of the earth; for besides that the Lord hath made that Land a place of rest, and a little sanctuary to them in these troubleous times, and hath made it a place where ma- Ezek. 11.16
many, very many have been brought home to Christ, even amongst themselves; so now apparently in the conversion of many of the Heathens, who sing and rejoyce in the wayes of the Lord.

Thirdly, When I looked on my dear native Country (in the bulke and masse of them) there is one above doth know, that my heart melteth towards it, desiring the Lord to give me grace to sorrow in secret for millions of them, who were never yet acquainted with what many of these poore Indianns have felt and found of the things of Christ, and that multitudes of such who hold forth a profession of Christian Religion, yet fall short of them, in regard of their belief and practise. Here I helped my self by comparing the one with the other, and that in divers particulars.

1. *These Indians are found (to speak of such whose hearts the Lord hath opened by his Word and Spirit) to prize Ordinances, and such as bring the Light to them, even that poor Indian, whose best clothing is a simple skin about him, of whom you read in the first Letter, yet they honour him for his works sake, and for those gifts, piety, and modesty they see in him; Here Ministers of Christ are despised, though many of them are eminent for parts, wisdome, and known integrity.*

2. *These Indians are plain-hearted, seek for Christ to enjoy him for himself; they receive the Truth in the love of it, and obey it without shifting or gain-saying; Here men have their own ends to tend to in matter of Religion, take up the forme, and let the power lie, as not serving their turn, have evasions to get from under the authority of the truth, and the Majesty of the Rules of Christ; here is rending and tearing of Wits, whilst we wrangle one another out of the truth, till love and peace be lost.*

3. *These Indians are industrious and pursue the things of their salvation, rest they cannot, have it they must, what ever it cost them, bearing up strongly against all opposition: We have weak and bed-rid dispositions, sunk down into a sottish and sensuall way; in many the kingdome of Hell suffers violence, and none can withstand them, but thither they will.*

4. *These mourn and weep bitterly, and are pained under the sight and sense of their sins, when convinced of them; that some of them have been known to have wet with their teares the places weere they have stood*

ſtood. We here for the moſt part, the Lord knowes, live with dry eyes, and hard hearts, and ſleight ſpirits.

5. *They are careful and conſtant in duties of worſhip, both in private and family prayer, hearing the Word, obſervation of the Sabbath, meet often together, and will pray together as occaſion ſerves, converſe lovingly together, are teachable, patient, and contented. O that there were ſuch hearts in us! O that their example did not ſhame multitudes of us who are fearfully guilty of omitting what the very light of Nature cals for from us! For this my heart is ſad, fearing that if the Lord do not mightily ſtep in, the next generation will be betrayed to Ignorance of the* Truth as it is in Jeſus, *to Deluſions and Profaneneſſe, and be rendred odious to all our neighbour Nations; and that theſe Indians will riſe up in judgment againſt us and our children at the laſt day. Brethren, the Lord hath no need of us, but if it pleaſe him, can carry his Goſpel to the other ſide of the world, and make it there to ſhine forth in its glory, brightneſſe, power and purity, and leave us in Indian darkneſſe.*

And concerning theſe Indians, who have taſted how gracious the Lord is, though it cannot be expected but that the Devil ſhould be like himſelf, by the counter-working of this bleſſed work, both by himſelf and his inſtruments, ſo as to cauſe many of them to totter, back ſlide, and fall away from what they have profeſſed; yet I have ground to conceive and hope, that there is ſuch a candle lighted amongſt the Indians in thoſe parts which ſhall not be put out till Chriſt comes to judgment, for the accompliſhment of which he ſhall not ceaſe to pray, who is

Your loving friend in

all Chriſtian duties.

HENRY WHITFELD.

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